

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 LOME 03162 220850Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----080215 220900Z /14  
P 211630Z NOV 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LOME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3159

C O N F I D E N T I A L L O M E 3 1 6 2

EXDIS

EYES ONLY FOR AMBASSADOR PALMER (C/O AF/W) FROM CHARGE

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: EAID SHUM TO  
SUBJ: HUMAN RIGHTS: TOGO

REF: STATE 274437

1. PARAGRAPHS TWO THROUGH SIX ARE MY DRAFT RESPONSE TO REFTEL. GIVEN THE LONG TERM POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE APPROACH I RECOMMEND, I BELIEVE YOU SHOULD BE CONSULTED AT THE DRAFT STAGE. I SUSPECT THIS OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE AND STABILIZE OUR RELATIONS WITH TOGO MAY BE A FLEETING ONE, BUT YOU CAN JUDGE BETTER THAN I WHAT THE TRAFFIC WILL BEAR IN WASHINGTON. COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS, PLEASE.

2. EMBASSY IS IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH DEPARTMENT'S EFFORTS TO REFLECT SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS--SUCH AS PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS--IN FUTURE AID PROGRAMMING. THIS REALISTIC LINKAGE IS ESPECIALLY APPROPRIATE IN THAT RECENT TOGOLESE ACTIONS WITH HUMAN RIGHTS IMPLICATIONS WERE MOTIVATED--AT LEAST IN PART--BY EYADEMA'S WISH TO REMOVE POSSIBLE OBSTACLES TO IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH US.

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EM WE REALIZE, OF COURSE, THAT ONLY OVER A LONG CYCLE IS IT POSSIBLE TO HAVE AID TRANSFERS REFLECT OUR IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH TOGO. WE, THEREFORE, ARE ESPECIALLY APPRECIATIVE OF DEPARTMENT'S DESIRE TO FIND AND MAKE AT THIS TIME AN APPROPRIATE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS.

4. THE MOMENT FOR SUCH A MOVE IS EXTREMELY FAVORABLE.

THE EMBASSY CONTINUES TO RECEIVE WARM SIGNALS FROM GOT AS A RESULT OF OUR ROLE IN ALERTING EYADEMA TO A POSSIBLE MERCENARY ATTACK FOR THE PURPOSE OF ASSASSINATING HIM. THIS INCIDENT SEEMS TO HAVE CONFIRMED TO EYADEMA--AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT--THAT ONLY THROUGH GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE WEST CAN THE GOT ASSURE ITS SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT. THE MANY OTHER STRANDS IN TOGO'S ECLECTIC FOREIGN POLICY--ACTIVISM IN REGIONAL AND OAU AFFAIRS, THE COURTING OF OIL-RICH COUNTRIES,CLOSE TIES WITH ASIAN COMMUNISTS, FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE THIRD WORLD MOVEMENT, ETC--ARE SEEN BY THE GOT, AT LEAST AT THIS JUNCTURE, AS COMPLIMENTARY OR EVEN SECONDARY TO THE ESSENTIAL LINKS WITH THE WEST. IN SHORT, IF WE DESIRE, WE CAN PROBABLY TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS FAVORABLE SITUATION TO MOVE OUR RELATIONS WITH TOGO INTO A MORE STABLE AND COOPERATIVE PATTERN. SUCH A PATTERN OF RELATIONS, OF COURSE, WOULD BE THE BEST ASSURANCE THAT THE EYADEMA GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK AND VALUE A FAVORABLE IMAGE IN HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS. THE BENEFITS, HOWEVER, OF A MORE COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WOULD EXTEND TO OTHER SECTORS AS WELL.

5. THE EMBASSY RECOGNIZES THAT TOGO WILL NEVER BE A KEYSTONE OF US POLICY OR HOLD THE ATTENTION OF THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE US GOVERNMENT EXCEPT OCCASIONALLY AND FLEETINGLY. ALTHOUGH PRESENT RELATIONS ARE GOOD DESPITE THIS CONSTRAINT, WITH RELATIVELY LITTLE CARE AND MONEY THEY CAN BE SUBSTANTIALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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IMPROVED. POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TOGOLESE HUMAN RIGHTS POSTURE MAKE THIS AN APPROPRIATE TIME. THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS ARE MADE TOWARDS THAT END:

A. THAT AT AN EARLY DATE WE EXTEND AN INVITATION FOR EYADEMA TO MAKE AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE US. APPROPRIATELY, AMB PALMER COULD EXTEND THE INVITATION ON HIS RETURN. THE TIMING OF THE VISIT ITSELF IS NOT AS NECESSARY TO MAINTAINING THE FAVORABLE MOMENTUM IN US-TOGOLESE RELATIONS AS AN EARLY INVITATION, AND VISIT COULD BE SET AS FAR IN THE FUTURE AS PRESIDENT CARTER'S SCHEDULE DICTATES. WE CAN ONLY GO SO FAR IN IMPROVING OUR RELATIONS WITH TOGO WITHOUT TAKING THIS STEP. TO A LARGE EXTENT, EYADEMA IS THE GOT AND HE IS USED TO CONDUCTING PERSONAL DIPLOMACY ON THE HEAD OF STATE LEVEL. BESIDES HIS ANNUAL VISIT WITH THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE, HE HAS MADE VISITS TO SUCH DIVERSE HEADS OF STATE AS MAO TSE-TUNG AND TITO. IN 11 YEARS HE HAS SEEN NUMEROUS AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE VISIT WASHINGTON, AND HE DOES NOT NECESSARILY CONSIDER ALL OF THEM MORE DESERVING THAN HIMSELF.

B. FOR OUR LONG TERM GOOD RELATIONS WITH TOGO, IT IS VITAL TO MAINTAIN A COOPERATIVE LINK WITH TOGO'S MILITARY. OF THE TWO TOP CONCERNS OF THE TOGOLESE GOVERNMENT, SECURITY

AND DEVELOPMENT, THE FIRST TAKES CLEAR PRIORITY, AND NO MAJOR COUNTRY CAN BE FULLY RELEVANT TO TOGO WHICH DOES NOT INVOLVE ITSELF IN THIS CENTRAL CONCERN. AT PRESENT, THANKS TO OUR DEMONSTRATED WILLINGNESS TO SHARE INFORMATION AFFECTING TOGO'S SECURITY AND A ONE-TIME TRAINING COURSE FOR TWO SENIOR TOGOLESE OFFICERS, OUR RELATIONS WITH THE TOGOLESE ARMED FORCES ARE BETTER THAN THEY HAVE BEEN IN YEARS. A VERY MODEST PROGRAM--SAY TWO TRAINING OFFERS PER YEAR-- WOULD CONTINUE THIS POSITIVE MOMENTUM. THERE IS NO NEED TO SUPPLY TOGO WITH ARMS: WE CAN COUNT ON FRANCE AND OTHER DONORS TO HANDLE THIS SECTOR. THE TRAINING NEED NOT EVEN BE IN COMBAT RELATED FIELDS. THE VERY GOOD FEEDBACK THE PRESIDENT IS NOW RECEIVING FROM THE TWO TOGOLESE OFFICERS WHO ARE CURRENTLY AT THE MILITARY MANAGEMENT SCHOOL AT MONTEREY SHOWS THE  
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EXCELLENT RESULTS THAT CAN BE ACHIEVED WITH MODEST MEANS WHEN THE TARGET IS CAREFULLY DEFINED.  
C. THE EMBASSY HAS REPEATEDLY ARGUED (EG, THE 1977 PARM SUBMISSION AND LOME 2184) THAT AN ANNUAL TRANSFER OF ASSISTANCE AT A RATE OF UPWARD OF \$5 MILLION IS NECESSARY IF WE ARE TO BE CONSIDERED BY TOGO AS A DEPENDABLE SUPPORTER OF ITS DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS. WE HOPE THAT FUTURE AID PROGRAMMING EXERCISES WILL GIVE FULL WEIGHT TO THIS RECOMMENDATION.

6. THE EMBASSY SEES NO PROBLEM IN CONVEYING TO THE GOT, WITHOUT EITHER GIVING THE APPEARANCE OF MEDDLING IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OR BEING PATRONIZING, THAT TOGOLESE PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BEEN A PREREQUISITE TO FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS RECOMMENDED ABOVE. WE BELIEVE "POSITIVE REENFORCEMENT" WILL TAKE PLACE.  
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